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ANCIENT GREECE

Classical states of mind

Jasper Griffin

LOUIS GERNET
The Anthropology of Ancient Greece
Translated by John Hamilton, SJ,
and Blaise Nagy
378pp. Johns Hopkins University
Press, £19.25,
0 8018 2112 6

GHERARDO GNOLI and JEAN-PIERRE VERNANT (Editors)
La mort, les morts dans les sociétés
antiques
505pp. Cambridge University Press,
£25,
0 521 22322 9

The greatest contributor to British classical studies in this century was Adolf Huxley. Exiled from Germany, many eminent scholars came to England; and they brought with them a conception of erudition and of method which surprised many of the elegant composers of Greek and Latin verses who held positions in English universities. The seminars of Edward Fraenkel, the postcards of Paul Maas, the formidable presence of Felix Jacoby and Rudolf Pfeiffer, drove home the news that from 1830 until 1930 most of the serious work in classical studies had been done in Germany. The insularity of which Huxley never tired to complain was over; no longer could you be a classical scholar and not know German. Wilamowitz and Mommsen became familiar names, and the German influence gave such an impetus to the native tradition of exact knowledge of Greek and Latin, that the past forty years have been a great age of classical study in Britain.

France did not share this side of Huxley's legacy. French ancient historians went on blandly quoting Carcopin, acerbic but French, as the standard authority; French texts of the classic authors bristled with the confusions of Desrousseaux, which were a local vice and did not travel. Eminent individuals stood out, but a lot of work seemed to be going on in another world from that being done in Britain and Germany. Few British classical scholars had much interest in the work of their colleagues in France.

This situation is changing. In the past ten years English-speaking scholars have become aware of the importance of a French tradition of ancient history very different from that of Carcopin,

influenced by the work of such men as Durkheim, Dumézil and Lévi-Strauss. The writings of J.-P. Vernant, P. Vidal-Naquet and M. Detienne are widely read, and English translations are beginning to appear. Their impact is most clearly seen in the study of archaic Greece; it is no coincidence that this is the area in which our indigenous methods have been most obviously running out of steam. The direct sources for events in archaic history are so fragmentary that trying to reconstruct the past from them is like trying to solve a jigsaw puzzle when ninety-eight per cent of the pieces are missing, and some of the survivors have lost their corners.

Louis Gernet is one of the most important figures in that French tradition. Born in 1882, he was a pupil of Durkheim and a friend of Granet and Mauss. In 1917 he published his thesis, *Recherches sur le développement de la pensée juridique et morale en Grèce*, and was given a position at the University of Algiers. After the war the star of the Durkheimians waned, and Gernet's career was conspicuously unsuccessful: he stayed in Algiers till 1948, when he was sixty-six. After publishing his thesis he edited a number of Greek texts, mostly of the orators, and produced a large number of articles on topics connected with ancient law, religion and social history. In 1948 he returned to Paris and gave sparsely attended seminars at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. In old-fashioned non-conformist beard and hat he seems to have been thought by most people to be a Rip Van Winkle (see the valuable essay on him by S. C. Humphreys in her *Anthropology and the Greeks*, 1978).

Since his death Gernet's reputation has grown greatly. A collection of his articles on Greek law was published in 1955 as *Droit et société dans la Grèce ancienne*, and in 1968 another selection, edited by Vernant and Detienne, appeared under the title *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique*. This has now been translated into English by John Hamilton and Blaise Nagy, with the silent omission of the bibliography of Gernet's publications, extensive but incomplete, which was contained in the original. Vernant was one of the devoted group who attended the seminars in Paris, and his generous recognition of Gernet's influence has done much to gain him his posthumous success.

Trained in sociology but also an excellent linguist, Gernet was interested in the interaction and development of words and institutions. The components which went to the creation of the classical polis are to be analysed and seen as a system. Mythology, Gernet insists, is a language, and it can be deciphered; but he is anxious not to impose one single method, preferring rather to proceed by a series of associations and similarities. That approach gives his work a humane feeling which is sometimes absent in ruthless systematizers, as well as allowing him to do more justice to the rich variety which a society presents.

A good example of his procedure is the eighty-page paper entitled "Droit et société en Grèce antique". He sets out to consider the transition from society in which law is essentially religious and magical in character, to one in which legal procedure of a recognizably "secular" kind is established. "What we are interested in is the state of mind [mentalité]." A far-ranging discussion deals with the quasi-magical force of gestures - passing on of a sceptre from hand to hand, entrusting of a bride into the hand of a husband, pouring libations, setting of a foot on the soil of one's inheritance - and traces them from the myths by way of "Herodotus" stories about sixth-century history to the stage when they become "symbolic", no longer powerful in themselves but routine parts of a procedure whose binding force lies elsewhere, in the involvement of society and in abstract patterns of thought. Originally an oath had its own efficacy and would evade its own breach; then the gods were credited with enforcing it; finally it became a formality, and Plato in the *Laws* recommends the abolition of the oath taken by both sides in civil cases, on the ground that it is bad for society to know that half its members have perjured themselves with impunity. But behind the ritual of the developed law - and not only in Greece - lies the original magical force of gestures and formulae.

Another fascinating paper deals with the idea of value and of the precious. Mythical stories abound of precious objects whose origins are supernatural: of the Golden Fleece (a tellurian of kingship), the necklace of Harmonia, possession of which could be deadly, the sceptres and treasures made by gods and given to kings in Homer,

golden cups which emerge from the sea, and so on. Possession of such treasures went with the magical power of the king to control weather and ensure fertility; the objects had their own history, which lengthened as they passed from hand to hand - like celebrated works of art nowadays, one might add, or famous diamonds, which also have a value beyond that of mere money in giving prestige to the owner: which are, as we say, "priceless". What we think of as straightforward economic value was a secondary development, and it is notable that the first Greek coins bore the stamp of the old hereditary religious symbols, as if to guarantee their worth.

Gernet is suggestive in pointing to links between archaic and classical attitudes and practices. In archaic Greece there was an important ethic of gift-giving: it was the duty, almost the function, of the king to give gifts, and competitiveness in generosity was an aristocratic obligation. The curious form of taxation known at Athens as "liturgy", by which a wealthy man was required to equip a warship or pay for the performance of a set of plays, is to be seen against that background; as is the constant boast of the men concerned that they fulfilled the obligation "with magnificence", with greater expense than was required. In democratic Athens a political deadlock could be resolved by a national referendum which sent one or other party leader into exile (ostracism); behind that lies the archaic ritual of driving out a man as scapegoat, carrying with him the pollution of the community. The distinctive appearance and behaviour of philosophers in the Hellenistic period is related to the bizarre conduct of early shamans and philosopher-wizards like Empedocles. The papers collected in this book offer many insights.

Characteristic of Gernet's work is the simultaneous awareness of historical and mythical material, each used to illuminate the other. The myths are the only place where many of the attitudes and procedures of early society were preserved; and they cannot be disregarded in favour of a purely "rational" attempt to reconstruct particular events separately, from the scattered fragments of specifically historical evidence. Without the social background such an attempt is sterile. As society evolved from the heroic to the aristocratic and then to the democracy of the fifth

century, along with the changes there was a great continuity of ideas and assumptions. Gernet's appreciation of that, and the patience and delicacy with which he works it out, mean that he can have a salutary influence on our understanding of a vital yet immensely difficult period.

Something must, however, be said about the English translation. In the original French, Gernet's writing needs careful attention; connections of thought are sometimes left implicit, and the abstract nature of much of the argument does not make for reading with the feet on the fender. An English translation should therefore be welcome, and it is sad to have to report that this one, so far from making life easier, is considerably harder to read than the original. That is a serious charge, which must be justified.

We find an ominous warning as early as the second page of the preface. J.-P. Vernant writes there of Gernet that he was completely at home in ancient Greece. "À la façon d'un ethnologue qui, parti dès l'âge d'homme explorer une terre lointaine, ne l'aurait plus jamais quittée et en comprendrait tout le peuple": "like an ethnologist who went off to a distant country as soon as he grew up, and never left it". In this book that appears as "like an ethnologist who, beginning with the dawn of civilization, sets out for a distant land, he would never abandon his quest". Two howlers, each of which would earn a black mark in an A-level paper.

It is not only that Hamilton and Nagy commit such elementary blunders, translating "guérisseurs" as "warriors", and "l'idée même" as "the same idea", and "en effet" as "in effect", and "une fête de printemps" as "an early festival", and "invité instamment" as "Immediately invited", and "voici un remarquable infécondissement" as "here is a remarkable case of inflexibility", and "contre toute attente" as "despite all efforts to the contrary". The reader who knows Greek mythology will automatically correct "two heroes, the son of Jason, and the grandson of Thesus" to "two heroes, sons of Jason and grandsons of Thesus" (how unkind that *his* is the same in the singular and the plural!). The reader who knows French, when Gernet is made to say that a story has "a reasonable and edifying allure", will perhaps detect the French words of which that is the helpless transliteration, and translate

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International Studies

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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More general accounts of the Falklands campaign will be reviewed together by Wolf Mendl in a future issue of the *TJ*. Among recent and forthcoming titles are *The Falkland Islands*, by Paul Eddle, Magnus Finklinde and Peter Gilmann, with the *Sunday Times* "insight" team [£27pp., Andre Deutsch, £8.95; paperback £2.50, 0233-97515-2]; *The Winter War: The Falkland Islands* by Patrick Bishop and John Witheroo (153pp., Quercet, £2.95, 07043 3424 0); *The Falklands Conflict* by Christopher Dobson, John Mills and Ronald Payne (213pp., Hodder and Stoughton, £1.50, 0 340 33408 7). *The Falklands Crisis: The Rights and Wrongs* by Peter Calvert (183pp., Frances Pinter, £9.50 0 867 871 27 9). *Authors Take Sides on the Falkland Islands* edited by Cecil Woolf and Jenni Moorcroft Wilson (144pp., Cecil Moore, £4.95, paperback £1.95, 900821 63 9) and *The Falklands Campaign: A Digest* by David Morgan (361pp., HMSO, £8.50, 0 710159 6).

enmoured as she is of old-style nautical chaplain like truth, meaning, narrative and causality. Lovelace's "shortcomings", Warner writes, "are not held against him by the lover of comedy". Clarissa presumably couldn't take a joke, although Warner does generously acknowledge that "something genuinely arresting" happened to her when she was drugged and raped, and informs us that, having been raped, she "felt used". It is not, however, that she has been used by a sexual oppressor, but by "Lovelace's fictional machinery".

The combative tone is typical, for Eggleston has moved into the eighteenth century, new terrain for him, in what is evidently a spirit of mischief. While entirely lacking, he says, "what would appear to be one of the chief credentials for discussing the eighteenth century, namely a nostalgic urge to return to it", he has noticed that certain new critical departures could give *Clarissa* currency with modern-minded readers. *The Rape of Clarissa*, made up of one substantial essay on *Clarissa* and two shorter ones which treat *Pamela* and *Grandison*, synthesizes three different methods of reading, post-structuralist theories of textuality, a psychoanalytical formalism, and an updated historical materialism. "The eighteenth century", he remarks in a preface which gives fair warning, "has long been the preserve of literary conservatism, rarely penetrated by

Marxist criticism, and one purpose of my book is accordingly to appropriate a little of this patch.

As a Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, Eggleston the post-structuralist, feminist and Marxist seems at first glance unrepresentative of that often rather conservative English Faculty. Very Oxford, however, and presumably a matter of some suspicion in more traditional Marxist circles, is a stylishness which makes him highly enjoyable to read. Eggleston's fondness for epigram sometimes resembles that of his colleague at Christ Church, Peter Conrad, though ideologically the two are poles apart. When he wants to observe that it does not help women to idealize them, Eggleston says, "For the eighteenth-century woman... idealization is never very far from the pit." Like Conrad, he maintains a witty strain of sexual innuendo, overt and covert. "The printer [Richards] remains master, coyly leading his readers up the garden path only to regroup them submissively round him in the grotto." But Conrad generally sounds as though the object of his jests is to make you admire him, while Eggleston, less self-regarding, jokes to unsettle cherished notions. "*Clarissa*, like another, rather more influential text of Western history, is the testimony left to a dead, consecrated body."

Eggleston casts himself as a talented amateur, a posture which can seem

maddening. His polemical tone will turn away some readers; his eclecticism will alienate others. To reconcile these methodologies is in any case not easy, and the tone of the book can seem inconsistent, indignantly Orwellian on *Clarissa*'s sufferings but playfully Deridean on Lovelace's fantasies. Finally, though a historical materialist should not seem perfunctory about history, Eggleston on the eighteenth century does little more than indicate that the class war was going through one of its discouraging phases. He is very imprecise about contemporary culture, and particularly about novels, though it is important to know whether *Clarissa*, read as a feminist statement, is really as untypical as he seems to imply. His sketch of society and its marriage customs reads, perhaps unfairly, as if it relies on Christopher Hill's essay, "*Clarissa Harlowe and her Times*", and on Lawrence Stone's *The Family, Sex and Marriage*, which must latterly have overaken E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* as the book by a historian most cited by students of literature.

By contrast, and for some as a relief, Jerry Beasley in *Novels of the 1740s* writes as a fully professional eighteenth-century scholar. His project is to do for his important decade what Kathleen Tillotson did for hers in the much-admired *Novels of the 1840s* (1954). Already the author of two bibliographies relating to eighteenth-century fiction, Beasley has

the scholarly credentials that Eggleston lacks, and his book throws out the kind of hard information for which there is no substitute. He opens a discussion of certain tales of low life with the satisfying nugget, "In the 1740s the pseudobiographies dealing explicitly with the exploits of robbers, swindlers, rapists, murderers, whores and other rogues totted nearly three dozen, or better than one-tenth of all the fiction published in the decade." Beasley has written before on Smollett, and he does so effectively here, in what is probably his best chapter. Like most American critics, he rates Richardson below Fielding, and he fairly accounts for the difference in taste by observing that Fielding, who is not a naturalist, is consistently under-rated by critics (often British) whose method is based on naturalistic criteria, like Henry James, Percy Lubbock, F. R. and Q. D. Leavis and Ian Watt.

As a survey Beasley's book is judicious, but as a performance it is not a patch on Eggleston's. One criterion of Henry James's for the novel does for any book: they divide into those which have life and those which have it not. Mostly Beasley positions himself at a distance from the novels themselves, viewing them circumspectly through the eyes of twentieth-century academics. These are almost all of a traditional persuasion: Beasley says civilly that he has learnt from formalist criticism, but if this is so it is not evident. He firmly states his preference, at the outset, for placing

books within their own historical context. Yet when he deals with Smollett, that great reporter on the society in all its squalor and wretchedness, Beasley prefaces his account by writing reassuringly of the "moral balance" Smollett means to display.

In general, Beasley finds the *Novels of the 1740s* singularly uninteresting, even though it coincides with the work of Hume; current theories of the two, who sees the philosophical relevance of the novel's narrative strategies, the reflection of social life in its personal dramas, the parody that a great work of literature can uphold orthodoxies and subvert them.

Beasley in fact bears out Eggleston's charge against much academic writing about the eighteenth century, that it can represent the literature of the era as more uniform, more proper, more spinless and more timeless than the good literature ought to be. Fielding's parables, creative works it is not enough to paraphrase the received academic view of them is wrong. Beasley's book is clearly designed as a text for students - but a high price on the book for asking them to think widely, like driving the intelligent elsewhere. Eggleston defers to colleagues to think kindly of him, but he has done them as good a service.

The wealth of ancillary material includes printing costs where known; "publishing history", which actually stretches to the history of composition; the sale of copyright; association copies; saleroom records; and provenance of the copies described. More daintily, the description even extends to reviews and contemporary comments. Perhaps a bibliographer is venturing *ultra crepidum* when it comes to charting the critical heritage under each other edition of the six novels; on the other hand, the results are totally fascinating. One finds, for example, *Mansfield Park* thus endorsed in June 1814 (the source is private correspondence, as in many of the comments): "It is not much of a novel, more the history of a family party in the country." A Mrs Pole thought that *Northanger* was "too evidently written by a Gentlewoman"; a critic from Jena in 1816 declared, "Sie ist eine glückliche Bezeichnung der stillen häuslichen Familienleben, dessen Zeichnung ihr gelingt" ("I'm not so sure about the 'still'"). Maria Edgeworth calls *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* "milk and water"; in 1832 the American press terms the novels "beyond comparison, preferable to such immoral rhapsodies as *Vivian Grey* and *Contarini*, and the flimsy romances of the day". *Sensibility* owes its resonance to accidental semantic splitting in English, not exactly parallel anywhere else. One strong French answer, actually in a Swiss edition, to supply the Pausanian version of *L'Amour et la raison*. This is taken a step further in the Portuguese equivalent, *Amor e razão*. Among many many examples of transpositions of *Pride and Prejudice* (most of which I do not understand), there is a particularly trim version in Kannada entitled *Hannu-bhinu*. But the most satisfying synthesis, combining alliteration and bilingual charge, is surely the Polish re-mention of sense and sensibility as *Rozsądek i romantyzm*. That must have got the book right.

Among the scanty obituaries which Jane received, few lines stand out in the *Monthly Magazine* for August 1817: "Provincial occupation. Hampshire. Died. At Winchester, Miss Jane Austen, daughter of the Rev. Geo. Austen, rector of Steventon, and authoress of *Emma*, *Mansfield Park*, *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Sans and Sensibility*. The death of the authoress may have been due to the hooks live on, and their spirit even now extends: What a rich bibliography shows, in its richness, clear organization and fastidious care for detail, is that Jane can survive the death of the author, and that the death of the author can be a death-dealing abstraction, will not overcome her. The one remains, the many change and pass.

Yet the first section, splendid as it is, must yield to the third in point of sustained interest and illumination. This is the segment devoted to translation, and I do not think it is simply a reviewer's urge to turn up arresting detail, which incites this preference. (The "miscellaneous" section, for what it's worth, has got Austen have made a good librarian? stands high in this group.) The point about the translations is that they show the gradual cultural accommodation of Jane Austen. Keynes, as indicated, could find only a sprinkling of French versions, together with a Spanish rendering of *Pride and Prejudice* which appeared in 1924. Gilson has significantly added to the earlier haul: from the nineteenth century, with all translations from 1822 onwards, and *Sensibility* in 1825, and a Danish *Sans and Sensibility* in 1825. There follow some 230 twentieth-century versions, in languages ranging from Gujarati to Tamil, from Hebrew to Sinhalese, from Icelandic to Slovene. The price has quickened intensely since the last war, and Jane Austen can now be said to be a popular author on a world scale. When Keynes made his listing, she was still very little

known in Western Europe (occasional references by Philimore Chablis, Amiel, Valéry Larbaud not withstanding), and a cipher over her name. The dearth of translations, deeply engrained cynicism to have any doubt that this process has truly increased the public stock of harmless pleasure.

Of course, one can never be sure that the foreigners are getting our Jane Austen. Perhaps they should, anyway. What the bibliography implies one to do is to make the most impressionistic guesses, on the basis of titles mostly. Some nations are especially prone to interpreting or edifying the work. Among the Portuguese items, *Fantasia de Amor* will be right, but I am not so sure that *Amor e razão* is right. *Sans and Sensibility* is right, but I am not so sure that *Amor e razão* is right. *Sans and Sensibility* is right, but I am not so sure that *Amor e razão* is right.

FICTION

Among the muckers

Ian Hamilton

DAN DAVIN (Editor)

Short Stories from the Second World War

239pp. Oxford University Press. £3.50. 0 19 212973 2

"Horizon" will always publish stories of pure realism, and we take the line that experiences connected with the blitz, the shopping queues, the home front, deserted wives, deceived husbands, broken bones, dull jobs, bad schools, broken families, are so much a part of our ordinary lives that unless the workshop is outstanding we are against them." So Cyril Connolly stated in 1944, and his words must have dampened a few war-time literary hopes. Imagine yourself stuck in a good blizzard in East Anglia or Burma, shivering with creativity, choked with the taste of raw subjectivity, only to be told by the top man in London that he really doesn't want to know about how your semi got gutted back in '40, nor about how your wife has just been interfered with by a pacifist. Not only this, but even your more generalized material is suddenly declared to be way out of bounds: the dear routines of Army life, the alienation of the left-wing sensitive suddenly brought into the contact with the sturdy prole, the dilemmas of the humanitarian anti-fascist who believes the war is just but not stomach military violence. And so for the old Thirties "clinical" routine, the icy eye of the Mass Observer, the camera within the

camaraderie... even this, the most reliable of stand-bys, must now be ditched. Not easy for a new bay, then, in 1944. However, as Dan Davin's anthology makes clear, a fair amount of the above type of "war-writing" had already been achieved before Connolly's outbreak of *aim* - indeed, it was probably the sheer volume of available slice-of-life, non-fiction fiction that had driven *Horizon*'s editor to beg for a respite. Missing from all those decent, genuinely suffered letters home was, quite simply, the flicker of an individual talent - only rarely did Connolly get the feeling that this or that writer would function at all interestingly in times of peace.

Dan Davin's selection offers, probably, the best work of the period - certainly, I can't think of a war-time story which should not have been left out - and for the most part it makes for difficult reading. As reportage, almost every piece has some period interest; as fiction, though, only five of these twenty-four stories would, it seems to me, find a place in a "non-period" anthology of modern writing: two by Davin himself, two by Alun Lewis, and one by Kingsley Amis. There is an eerie little item by Graham Greene about propaganda ministries, and a sentimental blitz-epitaph fragment by V. S. Pritchett - each of these, I feel sure their authors would agree, are fairly bottom-drawer. "Flying Officer X" (H. E. Bates) is represented, and for me his datedness has almost total charm; not everyone, though, will thrill to lines such as: "You can't believe how bloody wizard it is. You can't know what it is like to see the

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Glossing the Bard

David Nokes

GILES GORDON (Editor)

Shakespeare Stories

239pp. Hamish Hamilton. £7.95. 0 241 10879 9

"I am not only witty in myself, but the cause that wit is in other men", hoisted Falstaff, a claim happily justified a few years ago by Robert Nye. Not Falstaff alone, but troupes of Shakespearean characters have enjoyed reincarnation in adaptations, imitations, parodies and tales. Shakespeare permeates all subsequent English literature; nevertheless there is something faintly nostalgic about a volume so explicitly conceived as a series of literary homages to this collection of *Shakespeare Stories*. It seems to recall the bardolatry of a more innocent age: we are back in the world of Lamb's *Thales from Shakespeare* and Mary Cowden-Clarke's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroes*. Indeed the first story, by Paul Ableman, gives us the adolescence of Cordelia and Edgar, a tale of young love that closes with lines of leaden foreboding: "I thought the King had more affected the Duke of Albany than Cornwall."

Other stories fill out those little gaps in the lives of our old favourites with information that Shakespeare neglected to supply. Kingsley Amis confabulates Shakespeare's Menebath with the historical king of Scotland in order to present him at the papal court in 1054. Fred Urquhart gives us a worm's eye view of Macbeth's court as related

conclusion that he must seek his fortune outside the village.

Kwaku leaves for New Amsterdam because he is sure, from the gossip he has heard, that the town is made for him. He is not conspicuously successful at finding fame as a photographer, but is fortunate in ingratiating himself with an old shoemaker who takes him to Winkle, a quarter of New Amsterdam once celebrated for its blocksmith shops. "And," says Heath, "that is how Kwaku Chomondeley, the shoemaker from C. Village, in venerated shirt, would be photographer, near bigamist and father of eight children, came back to the old but despised occupation of shoemaking, of making leather-wear for other people's feet." In Winkle, however, Kwaku develops a skill for selling folk-medicinal cures to hypochondriacs. As a result he is suddenly wealthy and respected for the first time in his life.

Kwaku's new position gives him self-confidence. In addition to his already strong sense of his innate worth, he is insistent on proper financial and social recognition of his gifts, and is quick to advise his expertise. At the peak of his success and celebrity Kwaku returns in triumph to the village, only to find his world beginning to disintegrate. Miss Owendolline is afflicted by an illness that Kwaku cannot cure; to make things worse, a new teacher moves into New Amsterdam to deprive him of his monopoly of the trade in human credulity. From his ill-fated beginnings, then, the book moves towards a poignant close showing Kwaku and Miss Owendolline depending solely on each other. Roy Heath puts off his considerable skills - of narration, characterization and description - on display in a book that conveys its comic vision with wisdom as well as wit.

book is unsatisfactory - pedestrian, overwritten, cumbersome - as fiction, the reformist impulse behind it is unimpeachable. The second volume takes as its theme the psychological suffering caused by war. In Hero (born 1925) is the son of a man whose experiences in the trenches have turned him into a pacifist vicar. The narrow encompasses both World Wars, and examines different kinds of heroism (too, however, suffers from a certain heaviness of style).

Patricia Crane

Patricia Crane

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by that shadowy character the Third Murderer, who turns out to be not only Macbeth's bastard son, but also his incestuous bed-fellow. For Godfrey Smith the story of *The Merchant of Venice* becomes a series of juicy anecdotes in a garrulous letter home from Shylock's wife to her sister Sarah. The main problem with this "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern" formula is the difficulty of harmonizing the minor key of these back-stage narratives with the muffled booming of Shakespeare's major themes in the distance. There is a modern knowingness, their off-hand, confidential idioms that suggest parody more than fascination. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Angela Carter's "Overture and Incidental Music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*" in which the little Indian boy is served up like a salacious curry of oriental spices. Whenever Shakespeare's lines are quoted they are quickly qualified by revisionist glosses adduced like moustaches on the Morn'g Line:

"She never had so sweet a chancing; And jealous Oheron would have the child!"

Misinformation. The patriarchal version. It was all between my mother and my muntie, wasn't it, all.

The other favoured formula for these stories is the modern-dress version. Iain Crichton Smith turns *Hamlet* into the case history of a problem family in which the son who used to be good at English has gone sulky and taken to hanging around smoker halls. We are spared the melodrama of a pile of corpses behind the laundromat, however, and the story ends with a reconciliation scene to gladden the hearts of social workers everywhere. No such happy escape, though, for Ossie Bellow. Allan Massie's latter-day Othello, Ossie is a negro heavyweight, "a big black bugger" who inhabits a sordid post-war world of London pubs and gyms accompanied by his upper-class hint. Desi Lawrence. Their deaths in a Brighton hotel make tragic headlines in the Sunday papers, and even the ranks of Fleet Street hocks can scarce forbear a taar. Bright Brophy updates the English lesson from *Henry V* into a vignette on the callowness and callousness of young lust, filtered through the pithy idioms of English as a Foreign Language. Paul Bailey gives us a South London Sycony who conspires her Callban in divine kneecrumbler up against a Deptford alley wall.

The most successful stories here are those which free themselves of Shakespearean echoes and develop their own melodias. Salman Rushdie's Yorick owa more to Sterne than to Shakespeare; William Boyd finds Arcodin in the rituals and romances of an Officer's Mess; Francis King's Timon is a Beckettian relic; Robert Nye turns the second-best bad into the setting for a first-class floor-show; Elspeth Davie and Emma Tennant use the language of flowers to recreate the sufferings of Hermione and Ophelia.

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Surviving the Janeites

Pat Rogers

DAVID GILSON

A Bibliography of Jane Austen
877pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford
University Press. £50. 0 19 81817 6

In 1929 Geoffrey Keynes brought out his *Nonesuch* bibliography of Jane Austen, since then the standard reference work. It would be an illusion to suppose that our bibliographic parents lived in a state of innocence - the "Fifty years on" column in the *TLS* does not suggest uniform progress in literary studies. All the same, Keynes was working on a far smaller scale. To say, as the blurb does, that the new Soho bibliography by David Gilson is "markedly" understates the case. Gilson's is a quite different operation, and this is a factor not just in his own skills and industry, but also in the totally new climate in Jane Austen studies. Actually, it's not self-evident that Jane Austen studies as such existed in 1929.

To measure the gap between the two books, one has to start with raw figures. The nine sections of Keynes appear in more or less the same form (though not the same order), with the addition of three fresh sections in Gilson. If anything, the disparity is least marked in the first part, devoted to original editions - although even here, as will emerge, there are important extensions to the coverage. Then come early American editions, on which Gilson has already made himself an acknowledged expert. Keynes's section on French translations (augmented by a single Spanish item) is expanded out of recognition; it has become a sort of Comptulensian checklist. Gilson then inserts a new division, the Bentley Standard Novels issues from the 1830s onwards. Next comes "Later editions and 'selections', combining the collected and separate publications which were treated individually by Keynes. "Miscellaneous Works" corresponds to the earlier "Miscellaneous Writings", a change in title which conceals a radically different awareness of this part of the canon. Then follow letters, dramatizations (a new section), continuations and compilations (also new); books owned by Jane Austen; a miscellaneous segment; and finally a hugely augmented listing of biographic and critical studies.

Each area displays far greater density in coverage, and it will be enough to illustrate this point from selected cases. Keynes included 120 separate reprints; Gilson's expanded section runs to 425 items. In the 1929 volume only five books from Jane

Austen's library had come to light: Gilson is able to provide details of nineteen. Where Keynes had only a few scraps of "miscellaneous writing" to piece together, his successor has a substantial body of minor works to describe. It is worth recalling that in 1929 the full text of *Sonnet* had only just appeared for the first time. Neither *Volume the First* nor *Volume the Third* had seen the light, whilst their companion among the manuscript miscellanies had been published only in the mutilated form of *Love and Friendship*. The key figure in the rediscovery of these pargers was R. W. Chapman, whose contribution to Jane Austen studies shines out in almost every section of the new bibliography. Until Chapman had performed his task, culminating in the volume of *Minor Works* for the Oxford collected edition (1954), there was only small beer for Keynes or anyone else to chronicle. This cut-off date in Gilson is set around 1978, and so there is no place for the little drama made out of *St. Charles Grandison*; however, the discovery of the manuscript is recorded under K17, together with the traditional (but, as I think, increasingly implausible) ascription of the play to Jane's niece Anna Lefroy.

Inevitably, it is the final section, of secondary material, which has burgeoned most abundantly. Keynes listed fewer than 200 books and articles; Gilson has to cope with more than 1,800. It is true that his threshold of relevance is set rather low, he claims to have omitted some items recorded in the annual bibliographies, but he has let in many references which are not much more than a bare mention (this is in part n. Jane Austen Allusions collection), and he has allowed house-room to encyclopedia entries. But obviously the main cause of this bloated section, which takes up more than 250 pages, is the hypertrophy in Jane Austen studies - some would say, the over-capacity in today's scholarly industry.

And yes, it is easy enough to make sport of some items, or to deplore the redundancies (repeated "finds" of the Northanger novels, for instance), or to cast doubt on the usefulness of it all. According to Julia Margaret Cameron, "Thanked: God Almighty that... there were no letters preserved either of Shakespeare's or of Jane Austen's, that they had not been ripped open like pigs." Even a sympathetic observer would have to admit that the twentieth century has done its share of ripping open Jane; her books have been unglazed, her blood triumphantly revealed. A writer in *Alpha* has explored "the sexual world of Jane Austen"; well, she may be right: Some of the more academic topics are given a run-out conceivably a Romanish essay on

"Stilul Indirect Liber in romanul *Emma*" would prove to throw more light on the text than this blunt critical instrument generally does - If only one could read the Romanian properly. Again, perhaps the item listed as "Sir Walter Elliot y los espejos: simetria y contrapunto en la tipografía realista de Jane Austen" will yield more than one suspects. There is a good deal of kitch around: articles in *Forward Weekly* called "Jane Austen lives here", pious tributes ("Hampshire's Jane was born two hundred years ago"), apparently footling notes ("Oriel friends of Jane Austen"). But it all testifies to the living strength of the novels: the writers who choose to rip open are at least those we read. It is heartening rather than otherwise to learn that Jane has penetrated to the edge of the Urals: a scholar at the A. M. C. C. University of Perm (Molotov as was) has been writing on her moral art.

That most interesting sections of the bibliography, in the last analysis, lie elsewhere. First of all, there is the beautifully full description of the early editions. These contain all the information anyone is ever likely to need. Gilson says that his model was that "recommended in Philip Gaskell's *New Introduction to bibliography*"; this does not result in anything especially noteworthy in such matters as the collation or contents, but it is performed with impressive thoroughness. One major advance over Keynes lies in the substitution of facsimile title-pages for quasi-facsimile transcription. As a matter of fact, Gaskell spends quite a lot of his chapter on bibliographical description in guiding the reader in the mechanics of this way of transcribing a title. Those of us who have struggled over the task will feel cheated by the labour-saving device of modern technology; there seems to be something missing when the "Sense and Sensibility" (swelling rule), and the rest of it. In truth, facsimiles are easier to understand and more open to confusion. The technical details of the type-faces by Nicolas Barker, who can differentiate between varieties of Caillon pica roman from the specimen press: the details are astonishingly precise with regard to English, American and French fonts, and only Scandinavian typography. It might be more sparingly given, with good reason: type-casting is occasionally recorded, e.g. the Penguin Library version set in Linotype Juhlita; but not the characters of the old Eberhard setting, or the pleasant Ehrhardt used in recent Oxford editions.

Yet the first section, splendid as it is, must yield to the third in point of sustained interest and illumination. This is the segment devoted to translation, and I do not think it is simply a reviewer's urge to turn up arresting detail, which incites this preference. (The "miscellaneous" section, for what it's worth, has got Austen have made a good librarian? stands high in this group.) The point about the translations is that they show the gradual cultural accommodation of Jane Austen. Keynes, as indicated, could find only a sprinkling of French versions, together with a Spanish rendering of *Pride and Prejudice* which appeared in 1924. Gilson has significantly added to the earlier haul: from the nineteenth century, with all translations from 1822 onwards, and *Sensibility* in 1825, and a Danish *Sans and Sensibility* in 1825. There follow some 230 twentieth-century versions, in languages ranging from Gujarati to Tamil, from Hebrew to Sinhalese, from Icelandic to Slovene. The price has quickened intensely since the last war, and Jane Austen can now be said to be a popular author on a world scale. When Keynes made his listing, she was still very little

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The good shoemaker Schweik

Alan Bold

ROY A. K. HEATH

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commentary

Love among the ruins

Peter Conrad

W. A. MOZART

Idomeneo
Metropolitan Opera, New York and Channel 4 TV

Everywhere among the dozing denizens of the Met stalls, you hear people say that they don't care for Mozart. It was bald of the company to test their resolve with its first Idomeneo, and though no doubt an audience of delirious far vocal exhibitionism won't be persuaded, the new production of this difficult work is beautiful and imposing. James Levine and Jean-Pierre Ponnelle collaborated at Salzburg on Mozart's other opera seria, *La Clemenza di Tito*, which they filmed among the wreckage of the Roman forum and the Baths of Caracalla. There they showed the classical world romantically combusting, as the conspirators set fire to the Capitol with *Idomeneo* too they have determined on a romantic version of classicalism. Levine elicits the doubt and disturbance beneath the official solemnity of the overture, and emphasizes the anxious self-questioning within the characters. For him it's not an opera of statuesque gestures but one of brooding minor-key soliloquies. Ponnelle's designs likewise show classicism in a state of romantic dereliction. Mozart's Greece has become the vanquished, crumbling Rome of Piranesi, and the characters - costumed as eighteenth-century tourists - stumble, diminished, among its rubble. One of them even romantically relishes the mortality of classicalism while Ilin sings "Zeffiretti tempestosi". Idomeneo, sprawls among the architectural litter, looking to the sun like Goethe atop a truncated column in the Campagna or Shelley writing *Prometheus Unbound* in the cranial vault of the Caracalla baths.

Ponnelle's intent seems to be to suggest the empty authoritarianism of a classical society in collapse. Idomeneo accuses the gods of tyranny; Idomeneo himself is a dysfunctional parental deity. The vengeful surge through which Ponnelle expresses the internal vacuity of this power is a huge mask of Neptune, with empty eye-sockets and a gaping mouth. Through that aperture the god himself perhaps a hollow man, present in the opera only as a megaphonic off-stage voice - belches the survivors of the storm, and ingests Idomeneo as he goes to the temple to perform his sacrifice. The mask is the mother, an unloving, unresponsive power in nature and in human society, so that power Idomeneo colludes, so that during its chorus of panic the crowd encircles him rather than the unseen kraken. Like the god end its

The opera's plot, as Ponnelle sees it, is a romantic liberation of this instinct. His classical society suffers the rigor mortis of a formal symmetry. When apprised of Idomeneo's shipwreck, the chorus mimes a courtly ritual of despair rather than feeling it. Within this society, everyone's a prisoner, Ilin sings her first aria shackled. The ancient symmetrical enmity of love and duty - an invidious classical opposition, since it compels you to censor personal feeling and to behave with the diverting abstract high-mindedness of Shakespeare's Romans - induces in her a neurotic unease. "Padre, germani" is a muted mad scene, as Ilin recalls from her self-betrayal, and she is driven near to collapse by Idomeneo's pleading, which leaves her bent, broken-backed, unable to sustain herself. The classical aesthetic reproves the self-division she feels: the troubled motto of the later quartet is "Il cor mi si divide".

Romanticism, however, tolerates the contrary of emotions by which Ilin is persecuted, and once she's unbound she relaxes into harmony with its volatile energies. Ponnelle therefore stages "Zeffiretti" pantastically. As he describes those breezes (and herself emits them, since an aria made of air) Ilin aways in unison with them, agitating her hands to create an extra wind for diffusing her emotion. Her development presages that of

bestial emissary, Idomeneo seeks desperately to retain an authority which now depends on the cruel suppression of others. In a later romantic study of the end of the classical régime, Berlioz's *La Prise de Troie*, conquest and carnage must be the enforcers of change. Mozart has a more humane compromise in view - voluntary renunciation, and an appeal to the pacifying intercession of nature. Idomeneo escapes the storm only to find that he has internalized it, as he says in "Fuor del mar". But other characters invoke a temperate elemental peace, propitiating and taming the nature Idomeneo has infuriated. The chorus declares the sea to be placid, and Ilin entrusts her babes and wishes to those soothing "zefiretti". At last Idomeneo himself can co-operate with conciliatory nature when he abdicates power. His decision is more a biological than a political one. He permits the life of the young - whose vital future he has envied and felt threatened by - to continue in his own absence; he accepts his own natural fate of supersession. In *La Clemenza di Tito*, the Emperor saves Rome by an act of forbearance which can seem fatigued or specious, a superbly self-regarding posture. There's no such ambiguity to Idomeneo's step-down. He saves his classical world by acquiring a romantic wisdom, allying himself with that genial life-force which is the erotic and musical instinct, as Kierkegaard said, of Mozartian comedy.

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JOHN SOANE

The Making of an Architect

by PIERRE DE LA RUFINIERE DU PREY

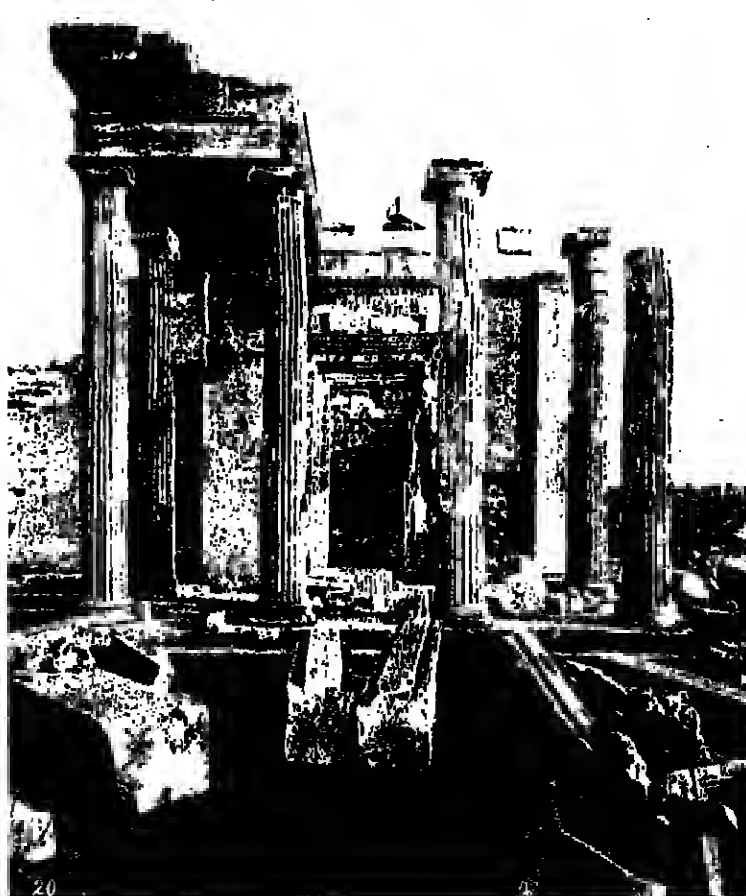
Sir John Soane was one of the foremost architects of the classical revival in 18th century England, a proper understanding of whom lies buried in the labyrinthine Soane Museum that houses his vast collection of memorabilia. Pierre du Prey has undertaken a systematic investigation of this cultural archive, and of other untapped sources outside its walls, to trace Soane's rise from humble origins to his establishment of an architectural office in 1784.

Because of the rich collection of material available to the author, the nature of Soane's architectural education, and his significance as a highly innovative and creative designer, this work is the best account to date of the nature of architectural training and the state of the profession in the latter half of the 18th century. As a result, this richly illustrated work will be of interest to present-day architects and the general reader as well as historians of art and architecture and specialists in the 18th century.

432 pages; 275 illustrations; 8 colour plates. £25.00

The University of Chicago Press

126 Buckingham Palace Road, London SW1W 9SD



The North Porch of the Erechtheion, photographed in 1868 by William James Stillman and reproduced in Photography and Architecture: 1839-1939 by Richard Pare (282pp. New York: Callaway Editions. \$55. 0 955112 06 5).

Idomeneo. The character penned within a classical tyranny of rigid impersonality has graduated to a romantic freedom.

Only Elettra remains unreconciled. Refusing to consent to a tranquillizing natural order, she devises in her agitated final aria - a vindictive mental hell for herself. Ponnelle choreographs the number as a gibbering breakdown, at the end of which the epileptic Elettra is carried off insensible. Since she won't be pacified by nature, she must avert the romantic decadence and its own perverse, violent victory over nature: Elettra's vindication comes in the macabre *Elektra* of Strauss (who made his own version of *Idomeneo* for Vienna in 1931). The Met's casting assists this brilliantly anachronistic notion, for Elettra here is Hildegard Behrens, celebrated for her performances in Wagner and Strauss. Birgit Nilsson sang Elettra at Glyndebourne in 1951 before passing to Strauss's version of the character. Behrens too is soon to sing *Elektra*. Already encouraged by Ponnelle, she plays one of Nietzsche's Dionysiac Greeks, an anorexic fury in a heena wig spitting out vituperative staccati with a voice which is raw, savage and excitingly un-Mozartian.

The assumptions of Elena Cotrubas and Frederica von Stade as Ilin and Idomeneo are more conventional. They wander like wondering infants among the outsize remnants of a classical world they will inherit and renew; though they sing sweetly enough, the director has demanded discretion, even innocuousness of them. Because they're sponsored by the romantic life-force, there's no need for them to be characterized as individuals. Ilin begins as an individual, when wrecked and anguished. As soon as she's unleashed her character is idyllically beamed. The reduction matters more in the case of Idomeneo. Janet Baker made him a tragic figure; all Ponnelle asks of von Stade is that he should be a winsome panto principal boy.

The production's Idomeneo, Luciano Pavarotti, has devoted the last few years to self-publicizing and self-devaluation. In his current film he bobs top-heavily above the sea in a balloon serenading the peasants in the vineyards, and wags San Francisco by melodiously assuring it that he's left his motherland in *L'Elisir d'Amore*, where he can play himself - a

jovial and of course lovable clown. Idomeneo is his chance of self-redemption. He sang Idomeneo two decades ago at Glyndebourne; the title-role is new to him, and because he is a notoriously slow student it represents a considerable act of faith to have taken it on. He conscientiously does all that Ponnelle requests of him, even rolling about the stage among invisible breakers when cast up on shore, and he gives a creditable impression of inner torment. He also sings superbly, with a gravity and sadness that have not been heard from him before. All the same, he's wrong for the part. His singing is best when it's most exultantly natural, an outpouring which has no need of self-reflection. Idomeneo though is an introvert. Ilin communicates her feelings to the air in "Zeffiretti"; Idomeneo must contain those dangerous feelings, and can only express them when, after Neptune speaks, he has been enabled to master them. Pavarotti's joyous extroversion of Ponnelle's Elettra, in a different musical era. His genius is his simplicity; because his singing is so full-throated and heart-felt, he's exonerated from having to act - to do so indeed would be an insincerity. In Mozart that good identification of himself with the music, which conveys the hint of a sob, like the voice of his dishevelled, ill-fated victim, sounds like sentimentalism. But Pavarotti has exerted himself nobly, and has warned the world not to discount him as a buffoon. *Idomeneo* is about the hero's bad conscience. In singing it, Pavarotti has lauded an artistic conscience of his own which no one credited him with possessing.

December 7 marks the 250th anniversary of the opening of the first of the three theatres which have stood on the site of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden. There will be various celebratory events, centring on an exhibition at the Royal Academy *The Royal Opera House Retrospective 1732-1982 - 250 years of Opera*. Ballet, *Pantomime and Opera*, which will open on December 7. A new production of Handel's *Semele* is also being mounted, an opera originally composed for the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, in 1744 and first performed at the opening of one of Handel's last seasons; this will be its first Covent Garden performance since the eighteenth century.

New Oxford books: Economics & Social Science

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Continental realities

Kenneth Ingham

CRAWFORD YOUNG

Ideology and Development in Africa
376pp. Yale University Press. £19.95.
0 300 02744 3

Crawford Young's conclusion that ideological preference has played no consistent role in the performance of African states in the two decades since independence, though admittedly a preliminary one, holds little novelty for anyone with a reasonable knowledge of the African continent. Was his investigation then really necessary? The fact that the Council on Foreign Relations thought so, disturbing though the implications of that may possibly be, suggests that it was. The Council is not alone in its uncertainty about what goes on in Africa.

The trouble is that independent African countries have suffered grievously from the attentions of outsiders whose prime objective has been to use them as the screen upon which to project their own political and economic visions. These outsiders include transient journalists seeking to compress a world of complexity into a striking headline, politically motivated academics proposing the answers to Africa's problems before asking the questions, international business consorts in skillfully promoting their own profits, and governments of both the Eastern and Western blocs less skillfully pursuing what they vaguely believe to be their own interests. Instead of trying to discover the needs and hopes of the countries with which they have concerned themselves, they have attempted to superimpose their own interpretations upon the actions and aspirations of African leaders. Colonialism may be drawing to a close, but the attitudes of colonialism — paternalism and the desire to exploit the economic and strategic potential of Africa — remain.

One result of all this has been that labels such as Marxist, socialist, pro-Western or pro-communist have been carelessly etched to African states, not on the basis of any analysis of their political philosophy but simply as the product of careless or wishful thinking. Professor Young's book is important, therefore, not only because of its avowed aim of discovering the effect of ideology upon development, but even more because he has had to consider the degree of congruence between the ideological titles — Marxist-Leninist, populist-socialist and capitalist — under which, in line with popular thinking, he has categorized African states for the purpose of his analysis, and the nature of the policies they have in fact pursued.

There may, indeed, as Young suggests, have been endless earnest debates in student restaurants and Left-Bank cafes, and diverse congresses on the eve of independence, in the hope of creating a satisfactory ideological blueprint for the future. In fact, with a few notable exceptions, African countries which achieved independence in the late 1950s and the early 1960s were more immediately concerned with the practical problems arising from the end of the colonial era than with laying new ideological foundations. The main tasks facing the leaders of that time were those of creating a community of purpose among their diverse followers and of maintaining an effective economic structure. The chief obstacles in the way of their success were traditional tribal loyalties and the shortage of natural resources and trained manpower. In the absence of any other focus of loyalty, the men who had brought their countries to independence were forced to take that role upon themselves. In those difficult circumstances it was usually easier to take over the administrative machinery left by their colonial predecessors than to embark upon an inevitably risky ideological experiment. Though it might, occasionally, have appeared necessary to emphasize that colonialism was at an end and by propounding policies which claimed to draw their strength from traditional African roots or specifically anti-colonial dogma, most leaders lacked the problems pragmatically.

Young's investigation of individual African states. The Ivory Coast, for example, achieved political independence in close collaboration with France without having suffered the indignity of settler occupation. Houphouët-Boigny was consequently able to retain the expertise of French businessmen and agricultural experts without arousing popular resentment. This was of great benefit to an economy largely dependent upon a steadily diversifying agricultural sector. Under French guidance new opportunities were provided for an emerging class of petty rural capitalists and employment was offered to hundreds of thousands of rural labourers. Thus a policy listed by Young under the category of "capitalist" has emerged upon the easily adapted foundations of French colonial rule because it seemed the most obviously successful line to follow, and because it suited Houphouët-Boigny's own way of thinking. It won widespread acceptance for nearly twenty years, though since the book was completed doubts have begun to emerge about the share of benefit according to the French on the one hand and to the people of the Ivory Coast on the other. It may be, therefore, that a shift of policy will take place in the natural course of events.

Algeria, by contrast, listed by Young among the populist-socialist group of states, became independent only after a bloody conflict which led to the flight of most of the French settlers upon whose activities the country's economy had been based under colonial rule. The nationalization of the former French-controlled industries and the redistribution of the land previously occupied by the settlers were thus essential steps to maintain the economy on a functional basis. To infuse new life into those enterprises it was also necessary to assert most vigorously the Algerian nationalism which the French had consistently denied. It was clearly impossible to follow the administrative pattern laid down by the French, it was equally contrary to traditional attitudes to adopt the Marxist-Leninist programme advocated by a handful of foreign intellectuals. Instead, a form of populist-socialism emerged almost automatically as the guiding principle of Algerian policy, though it was subsequently given shape and was formally adopted by the new government. Even then the pattern did not remain unchanged. In the light of experience the original proposals for worker participation had to be abandoned when the need for efficient operation called for greater state intervention.

Guinea probably provides the clearest example of the difficulty of creating an ideologically based state when resources are limited and trained manpower at a premium. Abandoned totally by France after Sekou Touré's refusal to join the new French community, the state at once, in line with Touré's own socialist philosophy, took control over trade, currency, credit and prices. This defiant gesture won the approval of Sekou Touré's fellow-countrymen, but when, as in many other instances, the hoped-for support from the Soviet Union was not forthcoming, the incompetence of those in office and their failure to maintain the country's economy on a stable footing aroused dissatisfaction. Gradually the control of production and trade began to revert to private operators, and when the president tried to prevent that drift many of the more able Guineans went into exile. Even after their departure popular discontent persisted, and by 1978 Sekou Touré himself had to recognize that his experiment had failed and turned humbly to France for help. The high regard in which he was held had enabled him for a season to pursue a policy which ran counter to traditional practice and more recent colonial experience, but its manifest failure compelled him to change his tack. It is interesting to speculate whether, given a more competent and experienced body of supporters, there was any prospect of solvency along the lines Sekou Touré had tried to lay down, even in a country so little endowed with natural resources. And whether, too, had he been more successful, his world

have retained support for an essentially alien ideology.

The experience of President Nyerere in Tanzania, as Young's argument illustrates, poses similar questions. Nyerere was, and still is, every bit as popular with his people as the Guinean leader. Few heads of state would have had the courage and the confidence in the loyalty of their fellow-countrymen to proclaim as Nyerere did the slogan of "Freedom and Work", and to make it abundantly clear to his followers that independence not only did not imply immediate prosperity, but that even to maintain existing living standards would demand prodigious efforts by everyone and considerable self-restraint on the part of those whose ability might lead them to expect rich rewards. His version of African socialism, with its roots in the communal life of pre-colonial Africa, stirred the pride of his newly

production had been transferred. Again, in Nigeria, the development of the country's oil resources has made a few wealthy and has considerably improved the standard of living of urban workers in employment. The urban unemployed, however, have been correspondingly impoverished, while the vast majority of the population, living in rural areas, have suffered because of the low priority given to agricultural development by an élite whose roots, unusually in this African context, were in commerce rather than in the countryside. They have suffered, too, because the large-scale schemes evolved by the élite when they did attempt to promote improvements in the agricultural sector were inappropriate to the situation with which they were dealing.

There is, nevertheless, another side to the élite coin. The leaders of Nigeria hold education in high regard



On the corner of Commissioner and Eloff Streets, Boksburg: one of the seventy-one black-and-white photographs by David Goldblatt which he has assembled in *In Boksburg*, a visual record of daily life in a small town, middle-class white community in South Africa (84pp. Gallery Press, PO Box 4547, Cape Town. R16.85. 0 620 05933 8). Middle South Africa, as depicted with sardonic precision by Goldblatt, offers enthralling glimpses of a world in which middle-aged couples dance along with Victor Sylvester, practise public speaking or rehearse madrigals in a floral-carpeted, plaster-duck-supervised 1950s ambience spiced with such exotica as the Saturday morning *Miss Lovely Legs Competition* in the Hypermarket. Black South Africans, thanks to the system, on the whole find themselves excluded from these activities.

independent people initially. Put into practice in the shape of his *ujamaa* villages however, it soon seemed to be carrying communal responsibility far beyond anything prescribed by tradition. Agriculturalists who knew little about ideology but a lot about the benefits of hard work on their own behalf began to drag their feet. Whether overtly or not Nyerere's programme has been subsequently modified. Nevertheless, it would be unjust to attribute Tanzania's poverty to the application of an inappropriate ideology. What lies at the root of the problems, as British colonial administrators knew full well, is the country's desperate lack of resources, a condition which has been exacerbated by involvement in the war with Uganda. Even this latter question is more justly described as the result of idealism rather than of ideology, two aspects of Nyerere's character which are frequently confused by his critics.

If poverty has been the main cause of Tanzania's problems, Young demonstrates clearly that the possession of mineral wealth is no guarantee of general prosperity. To Gabon, so marked contrast to the success of French involvement in the Ivory Coast, the exploitation of oil, manganese and uranium has brought considerable profit to foreign investors and technical expertise, but few Gabonese have even obtained employment as a result of the economy. In Zaire, meanwhile, an attempt to assert economic independence in the 1970s led to near disaster. This was due not to the fall in the price offered for copper on the world market, but also to the incompetence, corruption and looting of the Zaireans to whom control of the country's vast mineral

because it is education which has brought them success. Consequently they have spent large sums of money on the dissemination of education and other social amenities. This, together with Nigeria's notable record to the eyes of the people generally, modified and given legitimacy to political attitudes which might otherwise have stirred up popular resentment, particularly after the potentially divisive effects of a civil war.

If owing to corruption and the misuse of resources, the possession of mineral wealth contributes unevenly to development, does external aid have a better prospect of producing results, and is the direction and extent of that aid determined by ideological considerations? To both these questions Young replies that there is no consistent answer. The Soviet Union has given arms and military assistance not so much upon a careful scrutiny of the ideological credentials of the recipient as in the hope of striking a blow at what it sees fit to describe as imperialism, whether promoted by China or by the West. It has given little aid of a constructive nature, with the possible exception of that provided for Ethiopia. The United States, by contrast, has for the most part, though again not consistently, helped those countries which it has deemed to be pro-Western in sympathy. The judgment is not always soundly based, the most striking case being the attribution of pro-Western sympathies to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement in Angola on no stronger grounds than that it is opposed to allegedly Marxist government and in so doing has been willing to accept aid from South Africa. It is true that, if local conditions were favourable,

governments might be prepared to adopt, though without any pinned on them by their poster beneficiaries. Young, however, concludes that the ideological attitudes of African states have been little affected by the prospect of external aid, not surprising in the light of a statement that Israel alone, between 1976 and 1979, received four times more aid from the United States than did the whole of the African continent, while after the Camp David agreement Egypt received as much as all the other African states together.

This is not to suggest that the impact upon Africa of external aid has been negligible, but it does reinforce the conclusion that ideological issues have had little more than a random effect upon the continent. By all the other invoked by the author — growth, especially in the agricultural sector, general interest because members of the élite are keen to express their own quantitative terms to express themselves, because they have done so to establish a context for their perceived. While the "capitalist" Kenya and the Ivory Coast have achieved solid growth without a benefit of an oil bonanza, but countries have recently experienced constraints in their economic activities accompanied by internal criticism of the policies they have been successfully pursued. Equality of distribution may be judged in a number of ways. Undoubtedly corruption appears to flourish more vigorously in capitalist Nigeria and Zaire than in most Marxist or socialist states, but may be due to the greater opportunities offered by the abundance of mineral wealth in those countries. Again, while Marxist or populist socialist states such as Tanzania, Mozambique or Guinea-Bissau have restricted "buccaneering" mercantile activity by the political élite, it is effective agricultural policies of the Ivory Coast and Kenya, while giving an élite to prosper, have enabled the rural workers to improve their situation markedly. "Massive and systematic assaults upon human dignity," Young suggests, are a function not of ideological strategy but of insecure and paranoid rulers such as former President Amin of Uganda. Popular participation in government has nowhere proved to be a significant feature of African development, as does there appear to be any extensive overlap between ideology and a valid capacity to face up to new challenges.

Having said all these things, the reader is left with the conviction that the whole issue is remote from the main problem of Africa — that of establishing on a secure foundation independent countries which were originally created as colonial fiefs and were subsequently developed as part of larger economic and cultural units. As independent nations they not only face the task of transforming a dependent colonial economy into a self-sufficient one without the basic material resources to do so at anything more than a level that would scarcely meet even the modest expectations of most Africans, but must also create a sense of indigenous nationhood against a recent, colonial tribal variation and a recent, colonial influence. On the economic side there may, therefore, seem to have been some virtue in the dream of Pan-Africanism. On the cultural side the prospect of unity at that level is likely to encounter pitfalls. One has only to observe the jealousy with which the Organization of African Unity guards the boundaries of its membership, the laid down by colonial powers which they were, less any crack in the edifice of the whole fabric of society. Yet Africa is not to suffer incalculable loss from its own poverty and the intervention of well-meaning or self-interested intruders, a more positive policy of development must be pursued through consultation between the states and the governments of the latter, whether powers. Perhaps the best will never put what they believe to be their own interests sufficiently far from the background to make any consultations possible. Perhaps the Council on Foreign Relations will see this as the next project to engage its attention.

UNITED STATES

Light on the Chesapeake

Nicholas Canny

DAVID B. QUINN (Editor)
Early Maryland in a Wider World
300pp. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. \$18.50.
0 8143 1689 1

Most historians will have an appreciation of the high standard of scholarship maintained by those engaged upon the study of colonial North America over the last two decades, and the dedicated few will be aware that the focus of attention has recently shifted from Puritan New England to the tobacco-producing colonies of Virginia and Maryland, situated on the Chesapeake Bay. This work on the Chesapeake has been characterized by painstaking scholarship, but it has failed to excite general interest because members of the Chesapeake school rely excessively on quantitative terms to express themselves, because they have done so to establish a context for their perceived. While the "capitalist" Kenya and the Ivory Coast have achieved solid growth without a benefit of an oil bonanza, but countries have recently experienced constraints in their economic activities accompanied by internal criticism of the policies they have been successfully pursued. Equality of distribution may be judged in a number of ways. Undoubtedly corruption appears to flourish more vigorously in capitalist Nigeria and Zaire than in most Marxist or socialist states, but may be due to the greater opportunities offered by the abundance of mineral wealth in those countries. Again, while Marxist or populist socialist states such as Tanzania, Mozambique or Guinea-Bissau have restricted "buccaneering" mercantile activity by the political élite, it is effective agricultural policies of the Ivory Coast and Kenya, while giving an élite to prosper, have enabled the rural workers to improve their situation markedly. "Massive and systematic assaults upon human dignity," Young suggests, are a function not of ideological strategy but of insecure and paranoid rulers such as former President Amin of Uganda. Popular participation in government has nowhere proved to be a significant feature of African development, as does there appear to be any extensive overlap between ideology and a valid capacity to face up to new challenges.

David Quinn, the editor of *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, would seem to have set himself the task of remedying these deficiencies of recent literature on colonial Maryland, and if this was his purpose in preparing the collection he has been entirely successful. Not only what happened in Maryland but the entire English involvement with seventeenth-century North America is here presented in the context of developments in two continents over the previous century and a half. The authors are established scholars, each has succeeded in relating his contribution to the general theme, and the ten essays are organized coherently with a brief introduction by Professor Quinn himself. This handsome volume will certainly earn a wide readership among scholars and students of colonial America, but it should also serve the purpose of explaining to social historians in general why they should consult what has recently been published on the Colonial Chesapeake.

The essay of Francis Jennings explains how the European intrusion in North America disturbed a highly developed native alliance system, stretching from the Great Lakes to the Chesapeake, no less than it did the established economy of the North American Indians. What is discussed

by Jennings passed largely unnoticed by the English intruders, but not so the Spanish achievement in the Americas which some English promoters of colonization sought to emulate. The extent of this achievement is discussed by J. H. Elliott in an essay which amounts to a cost-benefit analysis of Spanish involvement in the New World during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Elliott's conclusions are derived largely from his previously published work, but his contribution is a model of compression which will be particularly appreciated for the information it provides on the scale, character and rate of Spanish migration to the New World. The Spanish knowledge of and interest in North America is considered by J. H. Parry, whose essay is complemented by that of William P. Cunningham on early maps of the Chesapeake Bay area. When taken together these will explain why, by the early seventeenth century, the principal Spanish concern with North America was limited to excluding their enemies from settlement at all points south of the Chesapeake.

Where the essay by Parry indicates why the state of England might have wished to encourage trespass on the putative Spanish domain of North America, the evocative reconstruction by Melvin Jackson of a typical trans-Atlantic voyage explains why the individual Englishman should have given second thoughts to embarking for Maryland. Why such reservations were cast aside is discussed by Quinn, who describes the gradual English intrusion into North America and who discusses the motives of those who became involved there. Due allowance is made for the compelling desire of religious groups, Catholic as well as Protestant, to establish a model society in America, but it is clear from Quinn's contribution that this was only one of a complex of motives that impelled Englishmen to persist with colonial experimentation in North America throughout the sixteenth century. The fact that Quinn considers these transatlantic experiments in the light of the activity of projectors at home indicates that the economic motive was always the dominant one, and he concludes that by the seventeenth century, when migration developed on a large scale, the "incentives for leaving Europe" had become "more specific and realistic".

This conclusion rests on the authority of a life-time's work on English colonial expansion, but it, in turn, provides support for the tentative suggestions advanced by G. R. Elliott in a lively, speculative essay on what might have motivated some

Englishmen to seek a new home in North America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Addressing himself to the entrenched notion that it was the existence of widespread religious and political discontent which explains English emigration to America, Elliott argues that Englishmen had less reason for discontent than did most of their Continental contemporaries, and he asserts that they were conscious of this fact to the extent that they "thought England was good and elsewhere was inferior". This has convinced Elliott that only "the freaks" who "could not coexist with anyone" emigrated for religious reasons, and a quick glance at recent literature on the origins of the English Civil War justifies the assertion that "until 1642 there was no struggle between parliament and king" and, therefore, no occasion for widespread political disaffection. Thus, by a process of elimination, Elliott concludes that it was principally the desire for economic betterment which explains the departure of Englishmen for North America, and he believes that most who went there, like their contemporaries who settled in Ireland, wished to extend the authority of the crown rather than to separate themselves from it.

Some will be offended by the iconoclastic tenor of Elliott's essay, but in seeking to redress what he sees as an imbalance in the literature on English discovery and colonization, he does not discount the importance of religion as a factor in explaining men's decision to emigrate. The way in which religion could shape the course of events is ably demonstrated by John Bossy, who describes the ecclesiastical constitution which the Calverts negotiated for Maryland as "a kind of encapsulated model of the situation of the English Catholic community as it stood on the day the enterprise set sail". Bossy's essay serves to introduce a fifty-page account of the development of the colony of Maryland from the moment of settlement in 1634 to the taking of the first census in 1642, which also looks forward from there to the end of the colonial period. Russell Menard and Lois Green Carr, the authors of this piece, are two of the more notable members of the Chesapeake school, and their contribution here draws upon and summarizes what they and their colleagues have published in widely scattered publications.

Contrariwise, Richard S. Dunn, who develops a comparison between slavery as it was practised on

Chesapeake and Caribbean plantations from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, presents a preview of work in progress. For this reason it is likely to attract widespread attention, but even more so because Dunn challenges the explanations offered by Winthrop Jordan, Wesley Frank Craven and Edmund Morgan for the relatively late development of slavery in the Chesapeake and proffers a fresh explanation of his own. Lack of supply of slave labour, rather than absence of demand explains the problem for Dunn, who knows of no evidence that planters in the Chesapeake felt any moral objection to slavery during the colonial period. To suggest that they did have such objections in the absence of evidence is, in his opinion, to attribute to them social and moral concepts from the twentieth century alien to their experience. This will have undoubtedly appeal for Elliott since, like most of the essays in this excellent collection, Dunn's supports Elliott's contention that England's colonies were founded "by good and solid greed, and by the quite normal expansion of generally accepted attitudes and purposes prevalent in the governing order in the realm of England."

The making of a nation

Peter Marshall

ROBERT MIDDLEKAUFF

The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution 1763-1789
696pp. Oxford University Press. £15.
0 19 502921 6

It is to be hoped and expected that the Oxford History of the United States will acquire a status and utility comparable to that of its English exemplar: nine chronological and two topical volumes are planned, and only an academic coelestian would consider this number, set against the fifteen volumes devoted to English history, to represent the payment of excessive attention to the past of a nation notorious for its recent origins. Robert Middlekauff's volume, the first to appear and the second in the series of period surveys, deals with the creation of the United States between 1763 and 1789. It is a lengthy account of almost seven hundred pages and is kept from extending further only by a decision to reserve a full discussion of foreign affairs and Western issues for inclusion in the third volume. This exclusion is not without drawbacks. It leads, for example, to an adverse judgment on the effectiveness of the Articles of Confederation with no reference whatsoever to the passage of the Northwest Ordinance — an aspect that might not change the conclusion, but which should surely be taken into account. The events of the Revolution are certainly sufficiently numerous and disputable to fill much more space, but Professor Middlekauff's decision to present them in the form of a narrative does nothing to reduce the demands of description. His choice of method may also seem erroneous on other accounts.

Reliance upon narrative ensures a clear, if hardly unusual, account of the military campaigns of the Revolution. The battles occupy chapters which some might have preferred to see made available for a fuller discussion of the background and purposes of the making of the Constitution, a process which here assumes the form of a logical conclusion to the war for independence. Its passage opposed only by wayward anti-Federalists. But for all the emphasis placed upon it, the war is presented in a limited and partial fashion. Little is to be gathered of the material, non-battlefield aspects of the "glorious cause" for which Americans took up arms: the fluctuating commitment to military service, the economic consequences of continental and state financial expedients, the actual and potential roles of the Loyalists, gain only modest or belated recognition. John Paul Jones, however, is given considerable

A narrative account of the transformation of a group of colonial societies into a new nation was perhaps never possible but, as it stands, *The Glorious Cause* cannot be described as a glorious failure. It lacks, within its narrative emphasis, concepts which would give point to the factual detail.

The two themes which are called upon with some frequency are rarely put to specific use. The revolutionaries undoubtedly were inspired by patriotic fervour and influenced by Protestant background, but the relationship of such general, and by no means equally sustained or exactly defined, views to the actions of individuals and the institutions of the new nation requires a much more exact and extensive examination than it receives here. The relevance and impact of the events described by narrative will reach the reader not through an appeal to ideas presented moderately and briefly, but rather in consequence of a union of detail and passionate conviction.

No work of this length and breadth can be kept free from error. An Oxford History, however, will be so frequently consulted that special care needs to be taken with detail. References to Britain produce a number of inaccuracies: Sir William Meredith was not a London merchant; in 1765 Burke was not Member for Bristol but for Wendover; Barrington was not Bernard's brother-in-law; Bull and Faulgner were Lieutenant-Governors, not Governors; Admiral Lord Howe is incorrectly entitled Lord Richard Howe.

Welcome though this series is, it cannot be said to have been inaugurated by a volume of outstanding merit. Clearly two centuries of sustained attention by historians have not succeeded in reducing the American Revolution, either by means of narrative or of analysis, to a topic beyond question or debate. A nation was certainly brought into being, but the causes and consequences of this change continue to fascinate, divide, and defeat historians. *The Glorious Cause* war-lasted but six years; the scholars' battles show no signs of an approach to Yorktown.

Illustrated £15.00

JOHN MURRAY

BERNARD SHAW

ALFRED DOUGLAS

A Correspondence

Edited by MARY HYDE

It may be hard to believe that a correspondence between such total opposites as Shaw and Douglas ever took place — but it did. It begins in argument but soon they are addressing each other as St Christopher and Child Alfred. Their personal involvement provides a fascinating light on the Oscar Wilde tragedy and there is lively comment upon members of Wilde's circle and such diverse figures as Freud, Chamberlain, Hitler, Churchill and many others.

JOHN MURRAY

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In the slide area

Rapert Christiansen

A. ROBERT LEE (Editor)

Unsettled Hawthorne: New Critical Essays
244pp. Viscio. £13.95.
0 8478 464 0

In the last of these essays, Richard Brodhead discusses Hawthorne's influence on later American writers. The enigma of Hawthorne's "fascination", he writes, "becomes the last source of his fascination." This serves as the leitmotif of an otherwise variable collection. None of the contributors displays much confidence in the conclusiveness of their cases (with the notable exception of a postscript by Hawthorne's biographer, "The Enigma of Hawthorne's Fascination" by Melville, who is nothing more than a visit from Hawthorne's son, John, who claimed that his father "had all his life concealed some great secret which would, were it known, explain all the mysteries of his career." But what we are dealing with here is the technique of modern critical theory and its consultations: possible. Perhaps the Council on Foreign Relations will see this as the next project to engage its attention.

squarely on the nexus of sin, guilt and redemption. Even earlier Henry James had been able to write of him that "there has rarely been a writer so deeply and less disposed to let things deeply into question." Something of this simplicity could profitably be recovered without loss of intellectual force. For instance none of these essays does more than mention Hawthorne's knowledge of the Puritan tradition of figurative interpretation or his interest in contemporary theories of evolution (clavily used by Frank Kermode in *The Classic*); and no one deals with the brute fact that Hawthorne desperately needed to make money as a writer and often quite cynically imported the trappings of Gothic romance to create a saleable melodramatic fiction.

But the new Hawthorne has to be explained semantically. Typical — and outstandingly well handled — is Harold Beaver's piece on "Roger Malvin's Burial", treated as a "hieroglyphic text", situated to the "slide area" between history and fantasy and coloured with artful rhetoric. The other end of the scale, Arnold Goldmann gives a sensitive account of Hawthorne's "disappointing visit to England and his failure to turn it into a successful novelistic account. Certain other pieces seem monotonous, disembodied their material of everything except the thin fate of being fiction. The enigma of Hawthorne is far richer than that.

